

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EURE-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 INR-05  
INRE-00 CIAE-00 SP-02 DODE-00 PM-03 PRS-01 SSO-00  
IO-06 ACDA-10 /055 W  
-----311849Z 008749 /44

O R 312131Z MAY 77  
FM AMEMBASSY BONN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8680  
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION USBERLIN  
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 09231

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, WB, US, UR, UK, FR, GW, GE  
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR STOESSEL'S LUNCHEON WITH ABRASIMOV

REF: BONN 8844 (NOTAL)

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: AT LUNCHEON IN EAST BERLIN MAY 30  
SOVIET AMBASSADOR ABRASIMOV REITERATED STANDARD SOVIET  
LINE ON SEVERAL BERLIN ISSUES. PRINCIPAL COMPLAINTS  
FOCUSED ON USE OF TERM "LAND BERLIN" BY WEST, FAILURE  
BY WESTERN ALLIES TO RECOGNIZE EAST BERLIN AS "HAUPT-  
STADT DER DDR", OFFICIAL FRG PRESENCE AND ACTIVITIES  
IN WEST BERLIN, THE LONDON DECLARATION ON BERLIN, AND  
ALLIED FLAG TOURS IN EAST BERLIN. AMBASSADOR STOESSEL  
ANSWERED EACH OF ABRASIMOV'S POINTS IN TURN, DEFENDING  
FRG ACTIVITIES IN BERLIN AS PART OF FRG-BERLIN TIES,  
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REMINDING THE SOVIETS OF THE BALANCE STRUCK IN THE QA  
OF 1971, REITERATING THE ALLIED POSITION THAT FOUR  
POWER RIGHTS EXIST FOR GREATER BERLIN, AND FORCEFULLY  
REEMPHASIZING ALLIED DETERMINATION TO CONTINUE FLAG  
TOURS. TWO AMBASSADORS ALSO DISCUSSED SEVERAL NON-  
BERLIN SUBJECTS, NOTABLY THE NEED FOR CONTINUED EAST-  
WEST COOPERATION, FURTHER STRATEGIC DISARMAMENT, AND

THE ENERGY PROBLEMS. LATTER POINT FOCUSED ON THE NEED TO CONTROL THE PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR FUELS IN CONJUNCTION WITH THEIR USE FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES. END SUMMARY.

2. SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO THE GDR, PYOTR ABRASIMOV, HOSTED STAG LUNCHEON FOR AMBASSADOR STOESSEL MAY 30 IN EAST BERLIN. FOUR MEMBERS EACH OF SOVIET EMBASSY AND USBER STAFFS WERE ALSO PRESENT. MAJOR PORTION OF DISCUSSION DEALT WITH BERLIN QUESTIONS. DURING COURSE OF LUNCHEON, HOWEVER, AMBASSADOR STOESSEL ALSO OUTLINED FOR SOVIETS' BENEFIT MAJOR POINTS OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S ENERGY POLICY. THIS IN TURN LED TO AN EXCHANGE ON SUBJECT OF USE OF NUCLEAR ENERGY AND US CONCERNS OVER POTENTIAL DANGERS RESULTING FROM SPREAD OF PLUTONIUM DEVELOPED BY FAST BREEDER REACTORS. AMBASSADOR ABRASIMOV OBSERVED SOVIETS HAVE NO IMMEDIATE ENERGY PROBLEMS, BUT SEE NEED TO CONSERVE ENERGY SOURCES FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS. HE SUGGESTED THE US AND USSR SHOULD CONTINUE TO COOPERATE IN DEVELOPING KNOWLEDGE IN THE PNE FIELD. THIS DISCUSSION THEN LED TO AMBASSADOR STOESSEL'S EXPLAINING, AT ABRASIMOV'S REQUEST, THE FRG-BRAZILIAN NUCLEAR REACTOR SALE AND THE REASONS FOR THE US RESERVATIONS ABOUT IT.

3. BERLIN ISSUE TO WHICH GREATER AMOUNT OF TIME WAS DEVOTED (IT CAME UP 4 OR 5 DIFFERENT TIMES DURING COURSE OF LUNCHEON AND COFFEE) WAS ALLIED FLAG TOURS IN EAST BERLIN. DISCUSSION OF THIS TOPIC WILL BE CONFIDENTIAL

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REPORTED BY SEPTTEL.

4. ABRASIMOV COMPLAINED AT LENGTH THAT FRG STATE SECRETARY FOR THE INTERIOR, GUENTER HARTKOPF, HAD TOLD A GATHERING OF THE "CURATORIUM FOR AN INDIVISIBLE GERMANY" IN WEST BERLIN MAY 24 THAT WEST BERLIN IS "A LAND OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC". ABRASIMOV OBSERVED THAT HARTKOPF WAS NOT JUST SOME ANONYMOUS CITIZEN EXPRESSING HIS PRIVATE OPINION TO FRIENDS OVER A BEER, BUT A SENIOR FRG OFFICIAL ADDRESSING SOME OFFICIAL BODY, WHOSE GOAL IS THE REUNIFICATION OF GERMANY, AND ALL THIS IN WEST BERLIN. ABRASIMOV WONDERED WHY THE ALLIES ALLOWED THIS TO HAPPEN, AND ASKED IF THEY WOULD PUBLICLY REBUKE HARTKOPF. AT SEVERAL OTHER TIMES ABRASIMOV REITERATED SOVIET CONTENTION THAT USE OF THE TERM "LAND BERLIN" BY WEST GERMANS AND WEST BERLINERS WAS CLEARLY INTENDED TO CONVEY TO WORLD THE IMPRESSION THAT WEST BERLIN IS A PART OF THE FRG. ABRASIMOV ARGUED THAT SUCH EFFORTS VIOLATE THE CENTRAL

PART OF THE QA, NAMELY THE PHRASE THAT "THE WSB  
CONTINUE NOT TO BE A CONSTITUENT PART OF THE FRG AND NOT

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TO BE GOVERNED BY IT."

5. RESPONDING TO ABRASIMOV, AMBASSADOR STOESSEL NOTED  
THAT HARTKOPF'S STATEMENT, IF ACCURATELY REPORTED,  
DID NOT REFLECT THE OFFICIAL FRG POSITION. HE ALSO  
REMINDED ABRASIMOV THAT THE ALLIES HAVE SUSPENDED THOSE  
PARTS OF THE FRG AND BERLIN CONSTITUTIONS WHICH WOULD  
PERMIT WEST BERLIN TO BE A CONSTITUENT PART OF THE FRG.  
AS FAR AS THE TERM "LAND" IS CONCERNED, AMBASSADOR  
STOESSEL POINTED OUT TO THE SOVIETS THAT THIS IS AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE TERM WHICH DOES NOT IMPLY THAT WEST  
BERLIN IS A CONSTITUENT PART OF THE FRG OR ANY OTHER  
COUNTRY. THE STATUS OF BERLIN, HE REMINDED THE SOVIETS,  
WAS LAID DOWN IN THE 1944 LONDON AGREEMENTS, AND WE  
AND THE FRG ARE QUITE CONSCIOUS OF IT. AMBASSADOR  
STOESSEL NOTED IN PASSING THAT MANY THINGS ARE ALSO  
SAID IN EAST BERLIN BY GDR OFFICIALS WHICH DO NOT  
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CORRESPOND WITH OUR VIEW OF THE SITUATION, BUT THEY DO NOT CHANGE THE FACTS AS THEY EXIST.

6. THE LONDON DECLARATION ON BERLIN: ABRASIMOV PROFESSED TO BE SURPRISED BY THE CONTENT OF THE FOUR POWER HEAD OF GOVERNMENT/HEAD OF STATE DECLARATION ON BERLIN ISSUED IN LONDON MAY 9. HE CLAIMED THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME IN YEARS THAT THE THREE WESTERN ALLIES HAD CLAIMED RIGHTS OVER ALL OF BERLIN. THE WEST MUST ACCEPT THAT THERE WERE 3 WESTERN SECTORS AND "BERLIN, CAPITAL OF THE GDR." AS FAR AS THE QA IS CONCERNED, HE ARGUED THERE IS NO "GREATER BERLIN". HE SAID THE SOVIETS RECOGNIZE THAT THE ALLIES HAVE SUPREME AUTHORITY IN WEST BERLIN. THE SOVIETS, HOWEVER, LONG SINCE SURRENDERED THEIR SOVEREIGNTY OVER THEIR FORMER SECTOR. NO MATTER HOW OFTEN THE ALLIES WISHED TO REPEAT WHAT THEY SAID AT LONDON, NOTHING WOULD CHANGE THE "FACT" THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE "RIGHT" ON THEIR SIDE. IT WAS THEIR RIGHT TO "DO AS THEY SAW FIT" WITH EAST BERLIN AND THEY HAD CEDED IT TO THE GDR. IT HAD BEEN GDR'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE ITS CAPITAL, AND THEY HAD CHOSEN "BERLIN".

7. AMBASSADOR STOESSEL EXPRESSED AMAZEMENT THAT ABRASIMOV COULD CLAIM TO FIND ANYTHING TO SURPRISE HIM IN THE LONDON DECLARATION. EVERYTHING IN THAT DECLARATION REFLECTED WELL-KNOWN AND OFT REPEATED ALLIED POSITIONS. AMBASSADOR STOESSEL STRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT THE FACT THE DECLARATION WAS ISSUED AT THE LEVEL OF CHIEF OF STATE/HEAD OF GOVERNMENT REFLECTED SERIOUSNESS ALLIES ATTACHED TO DECLARATION'S CONTENTS. THE AMBASSADOR REMINDED ABRASIMOV THAT FOUR POWER RESPONSIBILITIES FOR ALL OF BERLIN GREW OUT OF SITUATION AT END OF WAR AND WAS BASED ON AGREEMENTS MADE AT THAT TIME AND REAFFIRMED SUBSEQUENTLY. AMBASSADOR CONCLUDED BY REMINDING ABRASIMOV THAT BOTH SIDES HAD

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AGREED IN QA TO WORK TO IMPROVE LOCAL BERLIN SITUATION DESPITE RECOGNIZED DIFFERENCES OF VIEWS OVER THE STATUS OF THE DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE CITY. LEST THERE BE ANY DOUBT, HOWEVER, AMBASSADOR STOESSEL REITERATED FIRMLY THE WEST'S REFUSAL TO RECOGNIZE EAST BERLIN AS THE SOVEREIGN CAPITAL OF THE GDR.

8. AMBASSADOR STOESSEL ALSO SAID THE US REGRETS THE ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE GDR EARLIER THIS YEAR TO ELIMINATE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN EAST BERLIN AND THE GDR. THE US REGRETTED THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD PERMITTED SUCH ACTIONS. ABRASIMOV INTERJECTED THAT "THIS WAS RIGHT OF SOVEREIGN STATE." AMBASSADOR STOESSEL NOTED THAT WE HAD EXPRESSED OUR OPPOSITION TO THESE ACTIONS IN AN OFFICIAL STATEMENT TO THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT. HE ALSO OBSERVED THAT ABRASIMOV FREQUENTLY ASKED US TO ACCEPT REALITY. BUT OUR VIEW ON BERLIN IS ALSO PART OF THE REALITY HERE.

9. ABRASIMOV ALSO REITERATED SOVIET OBJECTIONS TO THE PRESENCE OF HIGH-RANKING FRG OFFICIALS IN WEST BERLIN AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW FEDERAL OFFICES HERE. SUCH ACTIVITIES, HE ARGUED, REFLECTED FRG EFFORTS TO CREATE THE IMPRESSION THAT WEST BERLIN IS IN FACT GOVERNED BY THE FRG, CONTRARY TO THE CENTRAL POINT OF THE QA THAT WEST BERLIN IS NOT A PART OF THE FRG AND IS NOT TO BE GOVERNED BY IT. REMINDED BY AMBASSADOR STOESSEL THAT SUCH VISITS AND ACTIVITIES DID NOT CONSTITUTE OFFICIAL GOVERNING ACTS BUT RATHER REFLECTED A STRENGTHENING OF ACCEPTABLE TIES PROVIDED FOR BY THE QA, AMBASSADOR ABRASIMOV TOOK POSITION THAT THE

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INCREASED USE OF THE TRANSIT ROUTES, INCREASED NUMBERS OF VISITORS TO THE EAST, AND EXPANDED TELEPHONE SERVICE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST WERE TYPE OF TIES WHICH SHOULD BE DEVELOPED, NOT ONES INVOLVING FRG GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS COMING TO BERLIN.

10. ON CHANGE IN BERLIN GOVERNMENT, ABRASIMOV WAS CRITICAL OF FORMER MAYOR SCHUETZ WHO, HE SAID, CONTRADICTED HIMSELF CONSTANTLY IN HIS SPEECHES. ABRASIMOV SAID HE HAD MET STOBBE WHO THUS FAR HAD DONE NOTHING BAD OR GOOD. HE WOULD RESERVE JUDGMENT ABOUT STOBBE.

11. COMMENT: WE SEE NO NEW ELEMENTS IN ABRASIMOV'S PRESENTATION EXCEPT PERHAPS HIS SEEMING UNAWARENESS OF HOW STRONGLY THE ALLIES ADHERE TO THEIR VIEW OF THE STATUS OF BERLIN. DURING LONG LUNCH, ABRASIMOV MADE  
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CUSTOMARY PLEA FOR US/SOVIET COOPERATION ON DISARMAMENT AND OTHER PROBLEMS, ADDING THAT HE KNEW FROM HIS FRIENDS IN MOSCOW THAT AMBASSADOR STOESSEL HAD WORKED HARD IN MOSCOW FOR US/SOVIET COOPERATION IN DIFFERENT AREAS. THE SESSION WAS ENTIRELY CORDIAL WITH ABRASIMOV SUGGESTING THAT HENCEFORTH HE AND AMBASSADOR STOESSEL SHOULD MEET MORE FREQUENTLY, PERHAPS EVERY THREE MONTHS.  
STOESSEL

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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
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**Copy:** SINGLE  
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**Decaption Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**Document Unique ID:** 00  
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**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
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**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** LIMDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 6  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** LIMDIS  
**Reference:** 77 BONN 8844  
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**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 2453934  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** AMBASSADOR STOESSSEL'S LUNCHEON WITH ABRASIMOV  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PGOV, WB, US, UR, UK, FR, GE, GC, (STOESSSEL, WALTER J JR), (ABRASIMOV, PYOTR)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvkey:** odbcc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/d7e6cc8f-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009